

Message Text

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ACTION EA-09

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-02

INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15

USIA-06 SAM-01 SAJ-01 OMB-01 IO-10 EB-07 /088 W

----- 120278

P R 130903Z NOV 75

FM AMEMBASSY TOKYO

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 4859

INFO AMCONSUL HONG KONG

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

USLO PEKING

AMEMBASSY TAIPEI

CINCPAC HONOLULU HI

C O N F I D E N T I A L TOKYO 16298

CINCPAC FOR POLAD

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, JA, CH

SUBJ: PRC-JAPAN PEACE-FRIENDSHIP: TOKYO PREPARES NEW MOVE

REF: A) TOKYO 14029 DTG 021045Z OCT 75

B) TOKYO 14852 DTG 171000Z OCT 75

C) TOKYO 16159 DTG 110935Z NOV 75

SUMMARY: LIBERAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY POLITICAL MANEUVERING
MAY BE PLAYING INTO FONMIN MIYAZAWA'S HANDS TO ENHANCE
NEXT APPROACH TO PEKING ON PEACE FRIENDSHIP TREATY (PFT).
AS BENEFICIARY OF MORE POSITIVE ATTITUDE ON PART OF LDP
VP SHIINA AND SOME OTHER LDP CONSERVATIVES TOWARD A PFT
WITH AN ANTI-HEGEMONY CLAUSE, MIYAZAWA PLANS A FURTHER
MOVE BASED ON HIS NEW YORK TALKS WITH PRC FONMIN CHIAO
KUAN-HUA AND ON "FOUR POINTS" MIYAZAWA "FLOATED" IN DIET
LAST WEEK. FONMIN APPARENTLY HOPES TO TRADE ACCEPTANCE
OF PEKING'S ANI-HEGEMONY CLAUSE FOR ACQUIESCENCE BY
THE CHINESE TO USE BY GOJ OF MIYAZAWA'S FOUR POINTS
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TO DEFEND ENVISAGED PFT IN TOKYO (AND MOSCOW). END

SUMMARY.

1. DOMESTIC POLITICAL INTRIGUE AND PREPARATIONS FOR A FURTHER APPROACH TO PEKING MARK THE BACKGROUND AGAINST WHICH LDP VP SHIINA AND FONMIN MIYAZAWA RECENTLY PUBLICIZED THEIR MORE FAVORABLE ATTITUDES TOWARD INCLUSION OF ANTI-HEGEMONY CLAUSE IN PEACE FRIENDSHIP TREATY WITH PEKING (REF C). FONOFF CHINA DIV DIR FUJITA TOLD US MIYAZAWA'S NOV 7 STATEMENT TO DIET WAS CALCULATED TO TEST CHINESE (AND RUSSIAN) REACTION TO WHAT MIYAZAWA BELIEVES HE EXPLAINED SATISFACTORILY TO PRC FONMIN CHIAO KUAN-HUA IN NEW YORK. ACCORDING TO FUJITA, MIYAZAWA DISTINGUISHES BETWEEN "ACCEPTANCE" BY CHIAO OF JAPANESE POSITION AND "UNDERSTANDING" AND ONLY, MORE REALISTICALLY, HOPES FOR THE LATTER. JAPANESE WERE JOLTED BY PRC DEP PREMIER TENG HSIAO-PING'S CRITICISM TO VISITING LDP DIETMAN ZENTARO KOSAKA (REF B) OF FONMIN MIYAZAWA FOR "MISREPRESENTING" THE MIYAZAWA-CHIAO NEW YORK TALKS. AFTER HEARING OF TENG'S REMARKS, JAPANESE DELIVERED STRONG MESSAGE TO PEKING URGING CHINESE TO DESIST AT LEAST UNTIL CONTENTS OF TALKS WERE STUDIED. CHINESE APPARENTLY REALIZED TENG HAD OVER-REACTED AND HAVE NOT COMMENTED SINCE, PUBLICLY OR PRIVATELY. FUJITA SAID JAPANESE PLAN TO MAKE NEXT MOVE AND TINY GROUP IN FONOFF IS HUDLING IN UTMOST SECRECY TO DETERMINE HOW TO PROCEED.

2. IN ADDITION TO TESTING CHINESE REACTION, FUJITA SAID MIYAZAWA IS INDEED "CONDITIONING" CONSERVATIVE LDP DIETMEN IN PREPARATION FOR INCLUSION OF ANTI-HEGEMONY IN BODY OF PFT. FUJITA ASSERTS THAT MIYAZAWA'S CLOSE TIES WITH SHIINA (AT WHOSE INSISTENCE MIKI APPOINTED MIYAZAWA FONMIN) AND LDP POLICY COUNCIL CHAIRMAN NADAO (WHO IS ESPECIALLY PLEASED WITH RESTORATION OF THE AIRLINK WITH TAIWAN ACCOMPLISHED BY MIYAZAWA). WILL GREATLY FACILITATE SELLING A PFT INCLUDING ANTI-HEGEMONY CLAUSE TO CONSERVATIVES IN LDP. TO FUJITA, SHIINA'S MORE POSITIVE ATTITUDE TOWARD INCLUSION OF ANTI-HEGEMONY (REF C) IS INDICATIVE OF A CONSENSUS DEVELOPING IN THE LDP TO SUPPORT MIYAZAWA'S WAY OF HANDLING OF THE CON-
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TROVERSIAL CLAUSE. FUJITA CLAIMS, AND THE PRESS HAS REPORTED, THAT NADAO ALSO SUPPORTS MIYAZAWA'S APPROACH.

3. FUJITA BOLSTERS HIS ASSERTION WITH STORY KOSAKA BROUGHT BACK FROM PEKING AND SHARED ENTHUSIASTICALLY WITH LDP LEADERS. KOSAKA REPORTED TO MIKI, SHIINA, NADAO, ETC., THAT THE CHINSE WERE CONVINCED OF PM MIKI'S TRUSTWORTHINESS AND FRIENDLINESS TOWARD THE PRC.

MIYAZAWA IS THE CULPRIT IN KOSAKA'S REPORT BECAUSE OF FONMIN'S STATEMENT ON AND HANDLING OF RESTORATION OF THE AIRLINK WITH TAIWAN. EVICING HIS DESIRE TO RETURN TO THE FOREIGN MINISTRY AS MIYAZAWA'S REPLACEMENT, FORMER FONMIN KOSAKA DID NOT FAIL TO REPORT HIS OWN PUTATIVE HIGH STANDING WITH THE CHINESE LEADERS. REACTION HAS BEEN SOMEWHAT DIFFERENT FROM WHAT KOSAKA INTENDED, IN FUJITA'S VIEW. NEWS THAT CHINESE ENTERTAINED DOUBTS ABOUT THEIR ALLY MIYAZAWA CAUSED SHIINA, NADAO AND PERHAPS OTHER CONSERVATIVES TO CLOSE RANKS BEHIND THE FONMIN AND TO LEND AT LEAST THEIR TENTATIVE SUPPORT AND PRESTIGE TO MIYAZAWA'S PLANS FOR CONCLUDING PFT.

4. COMMENT: FUJITA'S OPTIMISM ABOUT A DEVELOPING CONSENSUS IN THE LDP PERMITTING INCLUSION OF ANTIHEGEMONY IN PFT MAY BE PREMATURE, BUT MAOEMENT IS IN THAT DIRECTION. MIYAZAWA'S STRATEGY IS NOT ALTOGETHER CLEAR BUT HE IS APPARENTLY ATTEMPTING TO ACCEPT PEKING'S POSITION AND AT THE SAME TIME TRY TO OVERCOME CONSERVATIVE LDP SKEPTICISM AND DISTASTE FOR WHAT IS REGARDED AS AN ILL-DEFINED CNCEPT TO BE EMBODIED IN A LEGALLY BINDING TREATY. IT APPEAR THAT MIYAZAWA HOPES TO TRADE ACCEPTANCE OF PEKING'S CLAUSE ON HEGEMONY FOR CHINESE ACQUIESCENCE IN MIYAZAWA'S TACTIC OF UNILATERALLY EXPLAING GOJ'S POSITION AS OUTLINED IN MIYAZAWA'S FOUR POINTS (REF C). IF THE CHINESE AGREE, EITHER THROUGH POSING NO OBJECTION PUBLICLY OR IN SECRET TALKS, MIYAZAWA AND GOJ WOULD BE FREE TO INSIST TO CRITCS IN LDP, DIET OR MOSCOW THAT JAPAN'S POSITION IS CLEAR: PFT NEITHER WHOLLY NOR IN ANY OF ITS CLAUSES IS DIRECTED AT ANY SPECIFIC THIRD COUNTRY: THE ANTI-HEGEMONY CLAUSE REQUIRES NO JOINT ACTION: CONFORMS TO UN CHARTER, ETC. IF THIS IS IN FACT MIYAZAWA'S STRATEGY, AND WE EXPECT HIM TO DISCUSS HIS PLANS WITH SECY KISSINGER IN PARIS, PROSPECTS WOULD EEPEND ON: A) PEKING'S WILLINGNESS TO CONCLUDE THE PFT WITH MIYAZAWA EXPLAINING
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CERTAIN PFT CLAUSES IN SOMEWHAT DIFFERING WAYS TO DIFFERENT AUDIENCES: AND B) SATISFACTION IN LDP THAT ANTI-HEGEMONY CLAUSE WILL NOT SERIOUSLY MAR RELATIONS WITH MOSCOW, REQUIRE ANY JOINT ACTION, OR AFFECT RELATIONS BETWEEN JAPAN AND US OR JAPAN'S ECONOMIC ACTIVITIES, ESPECIALLY IN S.E. ASIA.
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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: FOREIGN RELATIONS, HEGEMONY, PRESS COMMENTS, DIPLOMATIC DISCUSSIONS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 13 NOV 1975
Decaption Date: 01 JAN 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: KelleyW0
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1975TOKYO16298
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Film Number: D750395-0443
From: TOKYO
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1975/newtext/t19751148/aaaabrbrm.tel
Line Count: 160
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Office: ACTION EA
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 3
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: 75 TOKYO 14029
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: KelleyW0
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 29 MAY 2003
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <29 MAY 2003 by ElyME>; APPROVED <04 NOV 2003 by KelleyW0>
Review Markings:

Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
06 JUL 2006

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: PRC-JAPAN PEACE-FRIENDSHIP: TOKYO PREPARES NEW MOVE
TAGS: PFOR, JA, CH, (MIYAZAWA, KIICHI), (CHIAO KUAN-HUA)
To: STATE
Type: TE
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 06 JUL 2006